purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

---

[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

guests, it appears that they were friendly but rather formal. As will be shown later, all arrangements in connection with Ilimo camp were made between the government and the Ilimo people; the Orokaiva had no forms of organisation, in 1951, through which the refugees could have negotiated directly with Ilimo. The hosts generously supplied food, grew extra food in special plots, provided abundant building material from their land, and a site for the camp and helped with the preparation of the camp while the evacuees still lived at Wairopa, in return for which the government made various gifts which Ilimo evidently regarded as adequate payment. At no point, during the existence of the camp, did the refugees develop an organisation which dealt directly with the Ilimo people. Thus, the only contact between hosts and guests was on a social level.

The camp was built at some little distance from the village. Refugees who had friends and relations in Ilimo used to go over to the village and visit them. There was for instance, at the time of the eruption, one Sivepe man resident at Ilimo; thus some Sivepe people paid visits to the village. There was an Easter celebration at the camp to which the village people came. When the camp broke up, the government gave a feast to the Ilimo people, on behalf of the evacuees, in the usual Orokaiva style.

If we wish to answer the question to what extent contact between different "tribal" groups (or distant groups) of Orokaiva has become more intensive since the eruption, we cannot confine ourselves to contacts occurring in villages such as Sivepe or Ilimo. Here the pattern suggested in the previous pages has hardly changed. The changes have occurred by the development of new organisations (to which I shall refer later) through labour migration and through urban development.

As I am at present discussing only unorganised contacts between villagers, I can give only one clear instance of changing attitudes and this is in Popondetta itself. Popondetta, the new administrative centre of the Northern District, has about 4,000 inhabitants, almost all Orokaiva; among its inhabitants all parts of the Northern District are represented, including Sivepe. The Sivepe people had many relatives there, mostly hailing from the Sasembata district, and employed in some regular job in the town. These jobs are partly in personal service to Europeans, but also in light industry, the retail trade, public works and public service, and go far beyond the little employment that was available in pre-eruption Higaturu (with a population which, judging from aerial photographs, can hardly have exceeded that of a large village). Popondetta is preeminently the place where intelligent men from various villages can gather informally to discuss political and other public questions, and develop a wider interpretation of the situation of the Orokaiva which is learnt by the men from the villages when they pay occasional visits to Popondetta. The town generates a new

484 sophistication which is spreading to the villages. This was not
521 yet very evident in Sivepe, though I shall later quote a few
633 examples, but far more so in Hohorita.

All the Orokaiva, including the people of Sivepe, liked to make occasional visits to Popondetta, even though they had little business there. They saw relatives and exchanged news with people they met around town, especially outside the Steamship Co. shop. News filtered down about the mission, the administration, the coffee factory and various current ideologies were communicated. The Inonda men visited more frequently than the Sivepe men; the women visited less frequently than the men.

609 I had little chance to observe relationships between Orokaiva
619 and Papuans and New Guineans from outside the Northern District, except when these served in some official or mission capacity. The only exception was the workers on European-owned plantations. I observed one incident at Hohorita which seemed to me highly significant. The Sangara plantation, which is very close to Hohorita, employs many Chimbu; bad feeling between plantation workers and villagers had been built up over some time, without any specific major issue of conflict. This culminated in a fight on a major scale. The Hohorita councillor went over to the plantation to make peace; the discussion ended with an invitation to the Chimbu to come to a feast at Hohorita. This feast was a success and was followed by a return feast at the plantation. Thus the Chimbu were placed on the same footing as other groups, at one time hostile, with whom feasting relations had been established, e.g., Sivepe and Togahou. Hohorita people whom I interviewed explained to me that when they quarreled with the Chimbu, they did not really know them, but they were friends now.

Section 6: Contacts With Indigenous Office-Bearers

731 Among the victims of the eruption were 143 Papuan administration servants as well as 27 Papuan constabulary, who died at Higaturu along with the 46 European civil servants stationed there. The Mission was somewhat fortunate that Martyrs' School at Sangara was still closed for the holidays; the pupils and some of the staff had not yet returned. Even so only 11 Papuan mission teachers survived, including the present Bishop of the Northern District Diocese, George Amob, the priest at Sasembata, Fr. Albert McLaren, and the now retired mission teacher at Seva, later at Inonda, Moses Kusmale.

659 At the time of the eruption, a certain number of new roles
177 had already become firmly established among Papuans: member of the
647 Royal Papuan Constabulary, Village Constable, Mission Teacher, Medical Orderly, Clerk, Labourer. Post-war government policy aimed at greatly increasing the number and scope of these roles, both by

622 orderly. This man, like the "committee" in Sivepe, was responsible
624 for the disciplinary aspects of local government--law and order, hygiene, organisation of working parties. The giving of such orders was not considered "fitting" for the councillor who kept aloof and worked through the "committee" as intermediary while still making the basic decisions. This dual control was convenient when, for instance, the councillor wanted old houses rebuilt and set along a straight line determined by him, while the people were not very enthusiastic. It never became clear just whose authority was treated lightly; no doubt the leaders are waiting for some excuse, such as a feast, for pressing the urgency of renovation. The councillor was, above all, the ideologist for the New Day.

794 Two other formal organisations in Hohorita pursued ends likewise
479 related to development. One of them was a church committee similar to the one at Sasembata; the second was a cooperative known as "Village Improvement" (in English) which was raising money for a purpose yet to be determined. It might be a trade store or a truck.
454 By the time I left, this committee had accumulated almost $1,000, and
452 the purpose then had again been changed: the intention became to invest the money under a government-sponsored scheme for village "Savings and Loan" societies which follow the principle of credit unions.

The composition of this committee was interesting: it did not
474 include the councillor, but consisted of the head teacher at Hohorita,
452 and a priest and a public servant both resident in Popondetta. All three belonged to the Bvreopa clan but all three were, by residence and profession, somewhat remote from the village way of life. A number of the villagers who contributed expressed for this scheme the kind of romantic enthusiasm characteristic of many Papuan cooperative movements; it was seen as a means to raise the Papuan to the same level of power as the European. I was told that loans would be granted only for equipment of permanent value--sewing machines, house building materials, lawnmovers, coffee machines and a vague and ominous category described as "special things." There were 66 members.

521 It struck me that at Hohorita, in contrast to other places, individuals and groups were keen to engage me in protracted discussions on ideological and economic matters. It was evident that this was not a mere show and that discussions of the same sort were frequent also in my absence. It was at Hohorita that I first learned, and in the clearest terms, Orokaiva views on race relations, on the significance of the councils and cash cropping, on Africa, on the Americans. Participants in the discussion were often the educated minority which seemed to set the tone for social thought: the ex-mission teachers, ex-medical orderlies, ex-drivers, ex-shopkeepers, etc.--a total of 20 men who had to some extent mastered some Western skilled occupation, and who had chosen to return to their own village. Very often it was the chance of cash cropping that had brought them back home, for they knew that they could thus get financial security and a good life. Some

521 of them made frequent visits to Popondetta and there met urbanised Sangara. A group used to meet in the hotel for what were often political discussions arising out of current events and rumours. This emphasis on the political and ideological reminded me of what I had seen among the Maori, the Indonesians and what is reflected in recent African studies: the kinship universe is crosscut by other ideas presupposing a political centre, centralised power, fundamental social and economic changes. The presence of Papuan public servants made [474] much difference here. For instance, nobody in Sivepe, discussing savings accounts, would have thought of telling me that there are 54 cooperative societies in the district only four of which are Savings and Loan Societies. This group knew the pulse of the Northern District in concrete factual terms while Sivepe relied on disconnected phenomena that happened to drift into their ken and from which their suspicions and hopes shaped an image sustained by the stories of their councillor.

Section 5: Internal Influences of the Eruption

361 Compared to the two sample villages, Hohorita is a more densely
621 concentrated settlement, with 348 inhabitants in 41 houses. When I was there, there were still two clearly separated araha; the dominant [161] clans of the front village section were Horeopa and Oripa; in the back, Besupa and Sehopa. But within each section, there was no striking separation of the clans into "sides" as in villages in the Sasembata district. House distances were as at Sivepe.

614 In contrast to Sivepe, there is no tendency for clan groups to
621 fuse, 12 independent names being given to me. This number can be somewhat reduced if we ignore those clan names represented by a single family where the wife belongs to one of the major Hohorita clans--the wife is then the "sponsor," in Fischer's sense, of the household. Thus, two of the clan names given to me belonged to immigrants from the Sasembata district who had married into Sangara. For all practical purposes their allegiance lay with the clan of their wives. The other clan names were all Sangara, representing survivors from numerous pre-eruption villages.

592 In household composition, the smaller settlements of Sombou and Kakita rather resembled Sivepe, but in Hohorita three-generation households were more common and bachelor's houses were not found. [597] Furthermore, many children were left parentless through the eruption and these were adopted by Hohorita households, especially by childless ones. As a result, childless households in Hohorita are far rarer than in Sivepe. A considerable number of marriages and remarriages [423] occurred immediately after the eruption. The sharp drop in population, furthermore, left Sangara with plenty of land for the survivors, so that 25-35 year age group is far better represented in Horotia than in Sivepe.